

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 1696

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT PROP CH

SUBJECT: CENTRAL MEDIA ARTICLES ATTEMPT TO KEEP HEAT  
IN THE ANTI-TENG CAMPAIGN

REF: (A) HONG KONG 9965, (B) HONG KONG 9925

1. SUMMARY. IN CONTRAST TO THE AUGUST 23 PEOPLE'S DAILY (PD) EDITORIAL'S RELATIVELY MODERATE TONE (REF B), SOME SUBSEQUENT ARTICLES IN THE PD AND KWANGMING DAILY IMPLY THERE IS REALLY NO ROOM FOR COMING TO TERMS WITH "CAPITALIST ROADERS IN THE PARTY." END SUMMARY.

2. WHEREAS THE AUGUST 23 PD EDITORIAL HAD CALLED FOR FOCUSING THE FIRE OF CRITICISM ON TENG, AN AUGUST 24 PD ARTICLE BY THE LIAONING UNIVERSITY MASS CRITICISM GROUP DECLARES THAT MAO'S INSTRUCTIONS ABOUT RECTIFICATION OF CAPITALIST ROAD POWERHOLDERS ARE DIRECTED AT "REVISIONIST BIG-SHOT OFFICIALS"--THE PLURAL IS EMPHASIZED. ANOTHER ARTICLE IN THE SAME ISSUE, SIGNED BY LING TA, DECLARES THAT THE PROLETARIAT'S STRUGGLE "WITH THE  
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BOURGEOISIE IN THE PARTY LIKE TENG HSIAO-PING" IS A "BIG LIFE-

AND- DEATH CLASS COMBAT." "THEY" IS USED INTERCHANGEABLY WITH "TENG HSIAO-PING" THREE TIMES IN ONE SHORT PARAGRAPH IN AN AUGUST 26 KWANGMING ARTICLE BY THE MASS CRITICISM GROUP OF PEKING NORMAL UNIVERSITY.

3. SOME ARTICLES ALSO APPEAR NOT QUITE IN AGREEMENT WITH THE EDITORIAL'S STATEMENT THAT COMRADES WHO HAVE MADE MISTAKES CAN CORRECT THEM BY JOINING IN THE ANTI-TENG STUDY AND CRITICISM. THE LEAD ARTICLE IN BOTH PD AND KWANGMING OF AUGUST 24, ON HOW TSINGHUA UNIVERSITY VIEWS THIS NEW STAGE IN THE ANTI-TENG CAMPAIGN, WARNS THAT THIS "SPIRITUAL AND GIGANTIC" STRUGGLE WILL NECESSARILY RUN INTO "RESISTANCE AND INTERFERENCE FROM THE BOURGEOISIE INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE PARTY." THEREFORE, "EVERY CADRE AND EVERY PARTY MEMBER" FACES TESTING ON WHETHER OR NOT HE CRITICIZES TENG AND WHETHER OR NOT HIS CRITICISM IS GENUINE. THE OLD PROBLEM OF WHO IS TO CONDUCT THE TESTING IS NOT ADDRESSED.

4. THE LEAD ARTICLE IN THE AUGUST 26 KWANGMING, BY THE IMPORTANT COMMENTATOR LIANG HSIAO, SUGGESTS HOWEVER A CLEAR VIEW CONCERNING WHO SHOULD NOT CONDUCT THE TESTING. WHILE THE LIANG HSIAO PIECE SUPPORTS THE EDITORIAL'S EMPHASIS ON THE REVISIONIST IDEOLOGICAL AND ANALYTICAL LINE AS THE CRUCIAL ISSUE, IT DOES NOT EVINCE THE EDITORIAL'S FORGIVING ATTITUDE TOWARD THOSE WHO HAVE FOLLOWED THAT LINE. STARTING WITH A 1926 MAO QUOTE--"WHO ARE OUR ENEMIES? WHO ARE OUR FRIENDS? THIS IS A QUESTION OF THE FIRST IMPORTANCE FOR THE REVOLUTION"--THE ARTICLE SAYS THAT IN THE PRESENT 3RA "THE QUESTION OF WHOM TO ATTACK AND WHOM TO RELY ON IS LIKEWISE A QUESTION OF THE FIRST IMPORTANCE FOR THE REVOLUTION." TAKING OUT OF CONTEXT A TENG QUOTE ABOUT THE PARTY'S NEED TO RELY ON "US OLD DUFFERS," LIANG HSIAO CLAIMS THAT THOSE ON WHOM TENG WOULD HAVE RELIED TO BRING ABOUT A BOURGEOIS, FASCIST DICTATORSHIP ARE TENG-TYPE "HIGH OFFICIALS WHO PRACTICE REVISIONISM" AND "BOURGEOIS INTELLECTUALS WHO REFUSE TO CHANGE THEIR WAYS" AND WHO HAVE IDENTICAL INTERESTS WITH THE AFOREMENTIONED HIGH OFFICIALS. THE IMPLICATION IS THAT THESE TWO CATEGORIES OF PERSONS SHOULD BE ATTACKED ALONG WITH TENG, OR AT ANY RATE ARE NOT TO BE TRUSTED WHETHER OR NOT THEY JOIN IN CRITICIZING TENG.

5. SEVERAL ARTICLES PLAY UP A TENG QUOTATION IN THE "GENERAL PROGRAM" THAT THE MAIN TARGET OF REVOLUTION IS "ANTI-MARXIST  
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CLASS ENEMIES." IT IS CHARGED THAT TENG ACTUALLY MEANT THE PEOPLE WHO UPHOLD MAO'S LINE, AND IN PARTICULAR "THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARY FACTION." THOUGH THIS IS CITED AS ONLY ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF REVISIONISTS WAVING RED FLAGS TO OPPOSE THE RED FLAG., READERS COULD INFER THE VIEWPOINT THAT RECIPROCAL, FACTION-BASED HOSTILITY IS JUSTIFIED.

6. MUCH OF THE ABOVE MATERIAL PROBABLY WAS PREPARED BEFORE

THE EDITORIAL WAS WRITTEN, OR AS THE EDITORIAL WAS STILL BEING DISCUSSED AT, PRESUMABLY, THE POLITBURO LEVEL. WHILE THESE ARTICLES CONTAIN POINTS OF VIEW THAT DID NOT GET INCORPORATED IN THE EDITORIAL, THEIR AUTHORS SEEM CONFIDENT OF A LICENSE TO TRY TO MAKE CONTINUATION OF THE ANTI-TENG CAMPAIGN MORE THAN JUST HO-HUM IDEOLOGICAL STUDY THAT LEAVES TENG SYMPATHIZERS SECURE IN THEIR POSITIONS. THESE ARTICLES OFFER POINTERS ON HOW "PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARY FACTION" MEMBERS AT LOWER LEVELS CAN USE THE STUDY MATERIALS TO THAT END, DESPITE THE EDITORIAL'S RESTRICTIVE GUIDELINES.

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